FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *log.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'cu peti'li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sagebrush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"ishot) and arrow (mucki'tsel) were the principal weapons. The wood for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams. A poison (muce"gau nu"ci) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.

The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern Maidu at Colfax, that only pifion-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back, but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cume"li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of pifion wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ta'a'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women[a] and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

[a] On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'cea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya cuke'a! mi'k'eq ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825

824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825

[224]

[262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23

[262]

[224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821

789

276

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

825

276

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

boulder serves as a mortar (lam), upon which foods are ground with rough cobble stone pestles (bī'tsik). Such a mortar is shown in plate III, fig. 2, while three typical pestles are shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3. No basketry or other retainer is used as a hopper with this mortar, but a special brush, such as that shown in plate V, fig. 2, is employed to brush the meal back within the area in which the grinding is being done.

This meal brush (kŭmbĕ'it) is made by placing the flattened leaves of the soap root one upon another so that the natural curvature of the bottom of the leaf forms, with its stiff fibers, a claw-like brush especially adapted to gathering in the meal which has scattered. It is also used as a hair brush. These leaves are obtained largely by trade from the Miwok, as the plant does not grow on the eastern slope of the Sierra. With the constant wear of the grinding in one spot a cup, often six inches in diameter and as many in depth, is worn in the boulder. Frequently the top of such a boulder is used by several women at once. Thus it is not uncommon to find as many as a dozen such cups on the top of a single boulder. The mortar here shown is not quite typical in that it has a considerable area hollowed out about the cupping. Usually the surface of the boulder is flat except for the pits themselves.

The pestles, as a rule, show no special shaping. Any well worn cobble stone, usually of granite and of a convenient shape and size, like those shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3, is chosen and used directly. Sometimes such a stone may have its edges pecked off to give it a more desirable form, as in the case of the pestle shown in fig. 2, but usually this is not necessary.

Another type of pestle is the rather carefully worked, cylindrical implement, regularly used as a muller. When employed as a pestle, it is used with a small portable stone mortar for grinding medicines and certain foods. Such an implement is shown in plate IV, fig. 4.

Perhaps the most delicate stone implement is the obsidian or flint arrow-head. This is quite carefully chipped and is attached to the foreshaft of the arrow by means of a sinew binding. Four such arrows with heads are shown in plate VI, figs. 3-6.[2]

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 37 -- An.]

[2] [see cat. 116, p. 39 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that of the Paviotso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2),[2] the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6),[3] and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI,[4] and plate XII, figs. 1 and 2).

MATERIALS.

The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and is therefore sparingly used.

The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials:

Willow	hi'mû
Unpeeled rods	mi'mû
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesû'sûyewe
Brown sewing element	ḫimû toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñé'we, and poto'soñ

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 41--An.]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 53 -- An.]
[3] [See cat. 116, p. 49 -- An.]
[4] [See cat. 116, P. 51 --

the cloudless sky overhead.

Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Descriptions of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shot.

In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were important parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

Modern peyotists have lost some of the traditional Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

Incense cedar plays an important role in modern peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.372, A]

824 795 778

ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2362-2364)

754 756 778 [172]

There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

754 [484] [361] [172]

Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539]

"One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731]

Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754

Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

[P. 376, A]

881 [271] [262] [263] [124] [262]

active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

(This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202]

The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778]

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178]

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824]

The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824]

After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[782] [431] [178]

[515]

After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

[302]

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178

The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

[574]

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

[731]

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27) —Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

[648]

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

[177]

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796]

Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] [825] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789]

> "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224
789

When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

> "I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.
>
> "A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

[777]
[343]

Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (688-758).

[824]
[777]

To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the possessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

[522]

[787]

224
[136]

Antelope (27a-75).—There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

[P 383, B]

222 527 [954]

ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 527 178

After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1960's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus was that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction [177] of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. They implied that those who insisted on this were [80] simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes the pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 824

The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de- [782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 789

There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the ethnobotanical lists (3621). This practice must have been occasional and [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color. 101 177 [131]

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, *f*), whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil. 285 171

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements. [177]

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras. 285 824

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc- 285 352 171

1/1 [This plate has not been processed -- Analyst]

The skin was tied on a smooth pole when it was scraped. The hide was then tanned with cooked brain and spinal cord which was stored in a piece of intestine. The hide was soaked in the brain for a day or two and then stretched and scraped again. The result was magu tau susi, or tanned deer hide. Antelope skins were prepared in the same way. 281 [415]

Thread came from the sinew (dideu or tashukido, "loin sinew") along the back of the deer. There is a strip of meat on the loin of the deer called dashkapush. This was removed and the sinew was taken off that and separated into strings. 283

Another kind of thread was made from Apocynum cannabinum, locally milkweed or Indian hemp. The fine silk-like fibers of this plant were separated, pulled, and twisted between the palm of the hand and the thigh into a strong twine (dumbaysǂgi). It was collected in the fall after the frost came and the outer bark began to fall off. Both the outer and inner bark were used. [824]

Apparently there was little difference in the dress of the men and the women. The women wore a belt (meliiu) with a front and sometimes a back apron (imboshude) attached. The woman also used a sagebrush bark napkin for menstruation and wore more jewelry. The men wore a G-string type of breechclout and occasionally a twine net on their heads. Other than these few items, dress, hair style, and ornamentation was essentially the same. 29

The breechclout was gumyoyaburwe while a piece of skin wrapped around the body from the chest to the knees was mangumtash. The latter was formed, according to Hank Pete, by wetting untanned deerhide and wrapping it around a tree to dry. A poncho (damu) with a hole for the head and with or without holes for the arms was made from a single deer skin. This simple dress sometimes had flaps that hung down over the upper arms made from the leg skin of the deer. Lower leg pants (pǂkishu wigas) were made from an untanned deer hide, sewn of the skin of a fur animal, or of a wrapping of sagebrush bark and covered the lower leg from the ankle to the knee to keep one from being scratched by brush. [192]

Everyone went barefoot most of the time, but moccasins (moko, the No. Paiute use a similiar word) were used. The most common moccasin was a single piece of untanned deerskin with a seam on the outer side of the foot and up the heel to the ankle. A hard sole may be added to the bottom. Another type of moccasin was in two pieces with a hard sole, soft upper part, a seam up the heel, and possible ankle flaps and a tongue added. In cold weather the moccasin was made extra large to allow room for a sock of sagebrush or cedar bark wrapped around the foot. [197] [824]

824 [291] [513] [854]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

481 [824]

Snowshoes (shumelli) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

352 [824] [856] [531]

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

854 352 [824]

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

302 [291]

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (diyu itgums¢w¢), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [887] gathering firewood (maak b¢h¢sing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (p¢lleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (p¢lleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

[see cat. 116, end plate IV, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

881 (777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes (224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their (574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would 881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance (856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when (824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the 535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left (778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed (533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but tney are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

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The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

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The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabaʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed. 844 [824]

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house. [184]

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two. [841]

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position. [845]

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver." 844

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. 844 782 539

gólaš gepímiʔ milíʔgihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ milíʔgihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melémiʔ, milíʔgimelémiʔ.	Hurry out so I can see you.
ǯémuyi hakí.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš hákí milíʔgiʔńawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tášaʔ ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil).[3] Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

[844]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [525]

[431]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire.

844 178

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo. [431] [777] 846

[757]

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (sawšan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (nšwnan ?ĕmluhaya?).[4] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert personal communication

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

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[431]

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

[593]
[302]

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

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[824]

The staff (bá·du? čúhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

[431]

During the woman's dance (?uwí·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

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One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[462] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešíši, "to drag the
535 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí'ya, melehéhe? and (e?wé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

762
[824] Suicide was sometimes accomplished by eating Western Water Hemlock (díme? dé·gus).[6] Hank Pete related a modern double suicide. "Up at Coleville at a rodeo a young lady killed herself with a pistol in the head when she was refused money by her grandmother. The mother of the girl killed herself when she heard about her daughter. They saw her going down to the river. They thought she was going to jump in. Instead, she ate some wild parsnip that grows there. It took her about an hour and a half to die. That's the only time I've heard of Indian suicide. There have been a lot of killings."

764 There was a great amount of variation in disposing of the dead. They could be left where they fell if they died away from camp, buried, cremated, put up in a tree, in a hollow log, or left in the house where they died. The most common means seems to have been burial with the body extended. A trench big enough for the body and about 2 to 3 ft. deep was dug with digging sticks. Baskets were used to place the dirt to one side. The body was prepared by male relatives, but any person could do the job. The body was laid flat on its back. Some of the property of the deceased and gifts of food were laid in with him. The whole was covered over with dirt and a pile of stones. The deceased was dressed in his own clothes and wrapped in his own blanket. Harry Hawkins, an elderly white resident from Woodfords, California, said he often saw the Washo wrap the deceased in a bearskin robe for burial. The remainder of the property of the deceased was broken up and thrown away, or burned. Those who participated in the burial would wash themselves afterward.

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764 The house of the deceased was usually torn down and left to rot. It was occasionally burned, sometimes with the deceased and his property inside. The latter practice was more common during the winter when the hard ground and snow prohibited burial.

764 Hank Pete (born about 1884) told of a winter burial he saw as a youth. "They burned out the stump of a tree and dragged the body there and wrapped him up in some hide and got willows to tie him up and put him in there. His legs were in the hole and his head was up. He froze there. Later they saw the magpies were after him so they threw brush and rocks on top of him."

Lowie (1939, 310) related that "All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put sagebrush two to three feet high and place the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. . . . According to Bill, the Washo sometimes -- but not [765] very often -- burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred."

6. Literally "water sweat potatoes", Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication)

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

[787] [761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

764 775

"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

[782]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

		Te	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tó	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
	1933. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?)	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
	1935. Root of tonap for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1937. Other bark	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940.	Tobacco ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1942.	Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1943. Fur pouch	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS														
	Rattles														
*1944.	Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1945. Attached to stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1947. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950.	Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
*1953.	Sheep-horn rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955.	Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1956a. Used by dancers	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1957.	Rabbit's-ear rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	1958. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1960.	Deer's-ear rattle (witoavigə)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1963.	Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1965.	Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
	1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1970.	Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1971.	Hoofs in line	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1972. Used by shaman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1973.	Notched stick (wuhunagi)	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*	-	-	-	+
	1974. Plain, notched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
	1976. Rubbed with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
	1978. Used by antelope shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1979. Used in "bear dance"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1981. Buzzers (tɔ́zaˊsɔ̀hinyu)	+	+	-	-	-	*	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a.	Hoofs twirled on string	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	1982. Deer patella	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	1982a. Wood disk	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1983. Buckskin disk	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1983a. Rock	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Bull-roarer														
	(See Gamas)														
	*1986. Drum	+	+	+	+	*+	*-	-	-	+	-	+	*+	*+	+
1986.	2-headed drum	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1988.	1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	1989. Body of wood	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
	1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	1990a. 24	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	1992. 6-12	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[*] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[*] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[*]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[*] La Barre, 61.
[*] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[*] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[50] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[51] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[52] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[50] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[51] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[52] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.